

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 ACDA-12 CIAE-00 INR-10 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 EB-08 NRC-05 OES-07 SOE-02
DODE-00 DOE-15 SS-15 SP-02 CEQ-01 COME-00 TRSE-00
HA-05 OMB-01 AID-05 PM-05 H-01 PA-01 ICA-11 /150 W
-----021315 051430Z /43

R 051313Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2908
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 THE HAGUE 3662

USIAEA

USEEC ALSO FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PINT PARM ENRG NL BR GW UK
SUBJECT: IMPLICATIONS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY VOTE ON URENCO

REF: THE HAGUE 3588

1. SUMMARY. WITH THE PARLIAMENTARY VOTE BEHIND IT, THE
GON IS NOW UNDERTAKING THE NEXT STEPS IN URENCO DELIVERY
OF ENRICHED URANIUM TO BRAZIL--THE ISSUANCE OF A LETTER
OF INTENT TO URENCO AND THE EXCHANGE OF DIPLOMATIC NOTES
WITH THE OTHER THREE GOVERNMENTS. THE IMPLICATIONS AND
RAMIFICATIONS OF THE DEBATE AND VOTE ARE PRIMARILY
INTERNAL WITH MINIMAL IMPACT ON THE NETHERLANDS EXTERNAL
POSITION. THE VAN AGT GOVERNMENT EMERGED CLEARLY THE
WINNER, BUT ANY SENSE OF ELATION IS TEMPERED BY KNOWLEDGE
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THAT IT WAS A VICTORY OVER HIS WON PARTY AND THAT IT WAS
MADE POSSIBLE BY THE PARTY'S DESIRE NOT TO BRING DOWN THE
GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. NEXT STEPS. PARLIAMENT ADJOURNED FOR ITS SUMMER
RECESS ALMOST IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE
DEBATE AND VOTE ON URENCO URANIUM DELIVERIES TO BRAZIL

(REFTEL) AND IS NOT SCHEDULED TO MEET AGAIN UNTIL LATE AUGUST. THE GOVERNMENT, OF COURSE, CONTINUES TO FUNCTION AND ITS NEXT STEPS REGARDING URENCO HAVE BEEN DESCRIBED TO US AS FOLLOWS. THE GOVERNMENT WILL ISSUE A LETTER OF INTENT TO URENCO, INFORMING IT OF THE GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION TO APPROVE A LICENSE FOR THE EXPORT OF THE URANIUM IN THE FUTURE. THE EFFECT OF THIS LETTER WILL BE TO LIFT THE HOLD WHICH PARLIAMENT'S CONSIDERATION OF THE ISSUE PUT ON URENCO PLANNING FOR THE BRAZILIAN DELIVERIES. THE SECOND STEP, WITHIN A FEW WEEKS, WILL BE THE EXCHANGE OF DIPLOMATIC NOTES BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE THREE URENCO PARTNERS AND THE GOVERNMENT OF BRAZIL. THESE NOTES, WE ARE TOLD, WILL CONTAIN TWO PROVISIONS: FIRST, THEY WILL NOTE THE FORMAL ACCESSION BY THE UK AND THE NETHERLANDS TO THE TRILATERAL SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT OF FEBRUARY 1976 BETWEEN THE FRG, BRAZIL AND IAEA. SECOND, THEY WILL SET FORTH THE FOUR GOVERNMENTS' AGREEMENT TO WORK FOR A PLUTONIUM STORAGE REGIME, EITHER AN INTERNATIONAL REGIME UNDER IAEA AUSPICES OR A FOUR PARTY AD HOC REGIME.

3. THE NEXT STEP, ALTHOUGH SOME DISTANCE IN THE FUTURE, WILL BE THE ISSUANCE OF AN EXPORT LICENSE. IT IS ANTICIPATED THIS WILL TAKE PLACE IN 1981 AND IT WAS ON THIS POINT THAT PRIME MINISTER VAN AGT AGREED ONLY TO INFORM THE PARLIAMENT, AND HE WAS FIRM THAT HE WOULD NOT SEEK THE PARLIAMENT'S APPROVAL:"...THE CHAMBER WILL ALSO BE INFORMED ABOUT THE CONFIDENTIAL

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COURSE OF AFFAIRS CONCERNING THE SETTING UP OF THE PLUTONIUM STORAGE REGIME WHEN THE TIME COMES TO GRANT AN EXPORT LICENSE...HOWEVER, THE DECISION ABOUT THE EXPORT LICENSE WILL FINALLY BE TAKEN BY THE CABINET ITSELF." CDA FLOOR LEADER AANTJES, ON THE OTHER HAND, ARGUES THAT THE CHAMBER WILL HAVE A VETO OVER THE ISSUANCE OF ANY EXPORT LICENSE. IN AN ARTICLE IN THE JULY 4 TROUW, HE SAID THAT HE AND CDA MP VAN HOUWELINGEN HAD WORKED OUT THE POSITION WITH VAN AGT THAT THE EXPORT LICENSE WOULD BE ISSUED ONLY IF THE PLUTONIUM STORAGE REGIME HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED AND ADDED TO THE TRILATERAL SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT. ALL OBSERVERS TO WHOM WE HAVE SPOKEN AGREE THAT AANTJES IS WRONG, THAT VAN AGT HAS MADE IT CLEAR THE GOVERNMENT ALONE WILL DECIDE ON THE EXPORT LICENSE, AND THAT AANTJES' ARTICLE IS MERELY AN ATTEMPT TO JUSTIFY HIS PARTY'S POSITION. WE BELIEVE THAT VAN AGT'S COMMITMENT TO INFORM THE CHAMBER, HOWEVER BINDING IT MAY BE, MAY HAVE MADE IT SOMEWHAT EASIER FOR THE CDA TO ACCEPT THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION, BUT AS A MEANINGFUL COMPROMISE IT HAS NO VALUE. AS ANOTHER CDA MP (FRINKING)

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 THE HAGUE 3662

VIENNA FOR USIAEA

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC

POINTED OUT TO US, ELECTIONS ARE SCHEDULED IN THE SPRING
OF 1981 AND THERE MAY VERY WELL BE A DIFFERENT GOVERNMENT AND
A DIFFERENT SITUATION WHEN PARLIAMENT DISCUSSES THE EXPORT
LICENSE.

4. GENERAL DISSATISFACTION. WHATEVER THE COMMITMENT TO CONSULT
WITH THE CHAMBER MAY BE, THE OUTCOME OF THE DEBATE WAS NOT
ENTIRELY SATISFACTORY TO ANYONE - CERTAINLY NOT TO VAN AGT
AND NOT TO THE CDA. FOR VAN AGT, IT CAN BE REGARDED AS
SOMETHING OF A VICTORY IN THAT HE PREVAILED OVER HIS OPPOSITION
BY REMAINING FIRM AND REFUSING TO BUDGE. IN ADDITION, COMPARED
TO LAST FEBRUARY, HE SHOWED A GREATER DEGREE OF PARLIAMENTARY
SKILL IN TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE OPPOSITION'S VIEWS WHILE NOT
MOVING FROM HIS OWN POSITION. AT THE SAME TIME, AS PRIME
MINISTER HE MUST BE CONCERNED WITH THE INTERNAL DIVISIONS IN
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HIS OWN COALITION PARTY AND MUST BE AWARE OF THE PROBLEMS
THESE MAY BRING HIM IN THE FUTURE. AS ONE COMMENTATOR

REMARKED TO US, THE DEBATE SHOWS HOW NARROW THE OUTLOOK OF THE ARP FACTION OF THE CDA IS AND ILLUSTRATES THAT SOME ARP MEMBERS DO NOT UNDERSTAND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AT ALL. IN ADDITION, SOME OF THEM FOUND THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION GENUINELY DIFFICULT TO ACCEPT BECAUSE OF BASIC CONCERNS ABOUT NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION; VAN HOUWELINGEN, FOR EXAMPLE, IS STRENUOUSLY OPPOSED TO NUCLEAR POWER.

5. FOR THE CDA, AND PARTICULARLY FOR FLOOR LEADER AANTJES, THE DEBATE WAS A LESSON IN THE REALITIES OF DOMESTIC POLITICS. AANTJES CAN TAKE SOME CREDIT FOR KEEPING HIS PARTY TOGETHER, ALTHOUGH SOME OBSERVERS THINK THAT HE WILL HAVE TO DO BETTER AS A FLOOR LEADER IN THE EXPECTED DEBATES THIS FALL ON NEXT YEAR'S BUDGET. FOR FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DER KLAUW, THE DEBATE PROVIDED ANOTHER OCCASION FOR POLITICAL COMMENTATORS TO CRITICIZE HIM. IT APPEARED THAT HE HAD A GOOD BRIEFING FROM HIS MINISTRY BUT HE PERFORMED POORLY IN THE GIVE AND TAKE OF PARLIAMENT DEBATE AND VAN AGT OFTEN TOOK OVER FROM HIM IN RESPONDING TO MPS. TYPICAL OF THE RENEWED CRITICISM OF VAN DER KLAUW WAS A POINTED ARTICLE IN THE NRC WHICH SAID HIS POOR PERFORMANCE WAS TYPICAL OF HIS LACK OF LEADERSHIP IN THE MFA AND ILLUSTRATED THAT HE WAS COMPLETELY INEFFECTIVE IN THE SECOND CHAMBER.

6. INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS. WHILE IT IS DIFFICULT TO ASSESS FROM HERE, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE POSITION OF THE NETHERLANDS AS AN INTERNATIONAL PARTNER HAS BEEN NEITHER ENHANCED NOR SERIOUSLY DAMAGED. THE RELIABILITY OF THE NETHERLANDS ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE WAS OFTEN CITED BY THE GOVERNMENT AS A REASON FOR GOING AHEAD WITH THE URENCO CONTRACT; THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION THUS APPEARED TO BE ONE OF DAMAGE LIMITATION
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AND IT ARGUED SUCCESSFULLY THAT ANY FURTHER DELAY WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE URENCO PARTNERS. ALL COMMENTATORS AGREED THAT THE "CONDITIONS" WHICH THE OTHER THREE GOVERNMENTS ACCEPTED WERE NOT REALLY NEW ELEMENTS AND THAT VAN AGT APPARENTLY HAD HIS INTERNATIONAL AUDIENCE IN MIND WHEN HE STRESSED DURING THE DEBATE THAT PARLIAMENT MAY HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS ITS OPINIONS ABOUT ANY FUTURE PLUTONIUM STORAGE REGIME BUT THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL DECIDE ABOUT THE ISSUANCE OF AN EXPORT LICENSE. UK AND FRG EMBASSY SOURCES HAVE TOLD US THAT THE GON HAS NOTIFIED THE FRG AND UK GOVERNMENTS OF THE RESULTS OF THE DEBATE AND THAT THESE GOVERNMENTS HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR GENERAL SATISFACTION.

7. REACTION. PRESS REACTION TO THE DEBATE IS ABOUT AS EXPECTED: IT FOCUSES MORE ON THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS THAN ON THE SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS OF NON-PROLIFERATION. THE NRC SAID THAT VAN AGT WAS "ABSOLUTE VICTOR". ALGEMEEN

DAGBLAD SAID THERE HAD BEEN A LACK OF COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE CABINET AND THE CDA BUT WHEN IT HAD BECOME CLEAR THAT NO FURTHER CONCESSIONS COULD BE EXPECTED FROM THE FRG AND UK, THE CDA HAD DECIDED TO AVOID A COLLISION WITH THE CABINET. VOLKSKRANT AND PAROOL WERE MORE CRITICAL, WITH THE FORMER CHIDING VAN AGT FOR BREAKING HIS PROMISE THAT PARLIAMENT WOULD HAVE THE FINAL WORD ON THIS MATTER AND THE LATTER CALLING THE DEBATE A FARCE WITH A PREDICTABLE ENDING.
BROWN

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